

Captain to my ledger

My dear captain:
" Ideology aside, what do
you believe in?"

Ideology of Popular Protest

Green Bay, Wisconsin 17/10/1861

I. INTRO

Ideology has long history, not all of it relv. to my purpose today:
1. In my book The Ideology of Popular Protest, I have been

so mainly concerned with

1) Ideology (ideas) underlying actual popular protest — i.e.
not general acceptance, as e.g. O'Leary's chart of poverty.
peasants, workers

2) Popular = common people in a transitional society — i.e. in stage
between pre-industrial & industrial society — e.g. in England & France c.
around 1700-1850 Society in process of transformation e.g. Eng. France 1700-1850

Study of ideology begins with Napoleon & 1821 encyclopedia; but
2. Marx & Engels first concern with Ideology of protest (conflict).
in Communist Manifesto & German Ideology & Manifesto (Eng 1850)

But 2 emphasis here not to my purpose —

(1) Polarized society between Capital & Labor — with intermediate
classes — peasants / shopkeepers / artisans in process of
assimilation & with no ideology of their own

(2) Ideology as a weapon of single class rule — i.e.
it sees "false reality" in common ideology, a "false reality"
imposed (that is to say, forcible means) on the dominant class,
which can for whom the mystification of the workers an advantage.
The Ideology gets off to a bad start

Admittedly, in Manifesto Marx recognises the workers-class of the future
to have a true consciousness of their own — but no clear statement made
(this often hints here & there) on how this transition from the one to the other can
be achieved. So I question needs further investigation.

3. In 20th century study of ideology protest comes first in Marx's followers —
Hungarian LUKÁČS
Italian GRAMSCI

1) LUKÁČS in his theory of class consciousness does not help much to resolve the problem
for he has (through being a largely Hegelian) It remains axiomatic that
Society has to be divided into 2 classes: polarized between Capital & Labor,
& Ideology has to be apportioned so that there are no intermediate size —
i.e. either a Bourgeois Ideology of "False Consciousness" — or a new "True consciousness" of
the majority of workers. — But how make the transition? In practice, concludes

Lukacs, may by a conclusion on capital, in which workers show as silent spectators on the sidelines — in fact from such the Small minority who set the right and the Calvin's Elect while the masses remain bound by false consciousness of capitalism. In my view, has an elitist, as historicamatic targets one nation as it depicts the nature of historical process.

D) GRAMSCI, Mussolini's former 1920-1930, Saw its effects also in Bureaucrats, makes the "break-through":

- (1) Italy of the 1920s NOT a static, bourgeois society — Survival of "traditional classes" of peasants, shopkeepers, craftsmen — neither workers nor capitalists → continue to be a reality where ideological concerns must be taken account of.
- (2) Set objects to hand-to-hand battle. Elect a "militant" from false consciousness & true consciousness — important connecting links between the two. with a continuous movement between them by education, struggle & experience.
- (3) So he envisaging a deliberate activity of "organic" intellectuals whose job he sees it to overcome the hegemony of the ruling and to create a common consciousness on the part of the common people as a prelude to taking over in their rule.

Thus historical process not ignored but come to terms with.

Such ideas seem to me important for looking at Ideology of Power in a traditional society that is process of being fully integrated. So much for my introduction; or so much for the point at which I take off.

II - So my subject is Ideology of Power Power - particularly (but not exclusively) in a traditional, or pre-industrial society.

1. In such a society — Popular ideology cannot simply be property of any single class — whether a dominant or a subject one — but a Mixture of statements and components.

(1) The more structured beliefs — religion, political eg systems of ideas like Popular Sovereignty — Right wing — Laissez Faire Christianity — Nationalism — Socialism — in fact.

(in some people's view) The only ideology worthy of the name however (2) But also Normative ideologies derived from intellectuals & thinkers & passed on to the common people from outside. things a doctrine of to work or serve for the people. Such are "denied" ideas.

Part (2) B. What about the ideas & beliefs peculiar to the common people
 However - learnt by experience or folklore - or a "mother's
 milk" type of ideology? Or not learned in books or sermons
 or from outside? Some call these ^{by ploughman's} "common sense", Gramsci
 talked them "inorganic"; Bakhtin (like Ryle) speak of
 "mentality's".

These I call "inherent ideas" i.e. learned or experienced from within
 the group, & tradition or at mother's knee.

<sup>W.E.P. T's more
sophisticated
immoral economy
in P.S. 1953</sup>
 Typical of them in the traditional society are notions of the "just
 price", the "just wage": "factions" in distributing law that inform
 popular protest in food riots, wage movements, law strikes has
 characteristic such terms of "franchise".

I. What I am calling popular ideology is a mixture of these 2, of which
 the first becomes greater in the second.

2. But no wall of Babylon between the 2: between the "inherent" & the "derived".

1) Some derived ideas ^{"in derived" in one generation} | may have traditional associations, ^{"in course of time become"} "inherent" in another.
 e.g., Christopher Hill's myth of the "Norman Yoke":
 Origins: Survival & death (17th Engls.) - In Charter; often disappears.
 in Saxony.

2) Also need for "derived" to be grafted onto "inherent" need for some common
 affinity i.e. RECEPTIVITY & few big resonances with poster.

Opposite REJECTION like rejection liver transplant for heart or kidney
 example (1) Spanish Habsburgs, unlike Irish, Polish, Italian. Went to
 make a different notion of "Right of Man"; Sovereignty of People
 after 1793. & why?

or at higher level (2) Felix RAAB; Machiavelli unacceptable to Elizabeth
 acceptable to Cromwell
 "a man" (husk) to Restoration.)

3) Also function of half-digestive, ready to
 among mixtures & confusion - (Gramsci's "contradiction" idea within pop. ideology)
 e.g. (1) Hobsbawm: Italian Brigand leader of 1860+ [Ghosts]

"Out with the Traitors; not with the Beggars."

long live the Fair Kingdom of Naples with its most religious Foreign
 long live the Vicar of Christ Pius IX; long live
 our ardent Republican brothers!

(2) Contradiction in divided loyalties -

~~Identically with Right death to his Minister!!~~

e.g. "Don't fire on us - you are shedding the blood of Alexander Nikolayevich, our Tsar

~~is not purely "from above"~~
~~or "from below" bottom-up~~
~~but both~~

↳ also 2-way traffic between 2 types of ideology, of which neither wholly superior to the other, even the more structured & sophisticated:

↳ structured ideology a more sophisticated & developed
of the "inherent" or "ideology from below".

Eg., Marx & the Blue Books of the Factory Inspectors in B-19
& going back in hierarchical form ideas learned from workers
own experience.

or Blame & Preston, at Lyon in 1830, learn to
make theory from ex-pe workers' experience in struggle
for "Mutualité" (association).

3. A further question -

The practical uses of ideology as an weapon in instrument of PROTEST:

Num 1) "Inherent" ideology has its evident limitations.

mention "just price", "just wage", "fair share" in land etc, as example of
But so far and no further. practical approach.

Num 2) SPT's "Hebden culture" enabling resistance to total penetration.

gentleman culture in Hebden

* (2) Richard Hoggart: example of degree of literacy - w/c culture
to resist complete indoctrination by 'aliens' bourgeois press -

example of "yellow press" - eye the Sun in Eng today - eg "page 3" Racing

But for further step - to make a fundamental, revolutionary change.
This "inherent" ideology & culture not enough.

Then need to graft into "inherent": the "derived" element in
ideology from outside such as a Pop Assembly, Right to Tax.

Somewhat mixed idea which French Russian Revolution - with

full popular participation would have been impossible

Revolution with a full popular base - eg French Russian or
Chinese - would have been impossible

4. The Ross problem of Transmission of "derived" ideas

By what process?

1) Can they be spontaneously generated & automatically engendered
in receiving group?

New left may say yes - SPT includes towards it (socialism as a direct extension
of expression of T.O. & strike activity, eg.) ; but experience says NO.

I believe justified Marx & Lenin in ~~saying~~ returning on aphorism "elitist" NO!

This has to be a conscious process of education from without not thru
direct experience alone - eg Gramsci; conscious use of imagination in intellect

① In Morris' meeting of Society of Education, 1890, to help create a counter-hegemony.

(1) By American Revolution, serv. studies many
 Gov. Philadelphia, e.g. 9 Jan. 1776, Anti-Federalists
 Polygamy (formal), marriage & religious freedom
 Oliver of New England, most recent of Rhode Island
 Current thinking - formularies
 Oct 1779

5. The Process of Transmission

Naturally set for one Revolutions → Revolutions spread to the next
 or (say in Eng. circles, where no revolution) for one historical phase
 to the next, determined by the need of moment & possibility of the
moment: documents & most highly)

(2) Examples best体现 of all Revolutions - The French of 1789-93:

1) Generation of new ideas in West France

- (1) Basic source (a) Rousseau - Sovereignty of people, democracy
- (b) Montesquieu - Separation of powers in a 2nd Ch. administration of state
- (c) Voltaire - Progress of enlightened monarchy

2) The transmitters

Philosophers' works read in salons.

Salons & Recreations (1750? -)

Rev. Timogénie of 1789-93

3) How was the process a means of transmission

(1) Primary: slogans + new vocabulary e.g. "la nation", "les échets", "citoyen" → gradually accepted by April but initially not rejected in Parisian provincial towns, 1789

(2) Secondary: in many large towns popularized by summer 1789.
 Sovereignty of People, Rights of Man of 1789

(3) Relative importance ~~generally~~

(B) Places of transmission

Markets + shops (women often main recipient)

Workshops (mainly craftsman to journeymen)

Town hall readings - Abbé Tiphaine, Marquis de Jacob

Army barracks (e.g. Paris Duchesse) in 1793.

4) The result, not just an A+B affair

Always a dual process of (a) adoption + assimilation
 into adaptation to social needs.

The "Message" doesn't fit others because it's different
 to other social groups - Christians, bourgeois & sans-

as the result of transformation of ideas in cause of Adaptation or heaviness

of mean of "Third Estate" not same to Sieyès' calculus
 "dictator" not from merchant ship keepers to the

Equality - Bourgeois not settled equally at law -
 small owners' wants equal to those of bourgeoisie

as well.

Similitude: Pop sovereignty - meant parliamentary democracy
to Jacobins & their bourgeoisie

Particularism: in local demands direct democracy
↳ Pro-Secteur nationalism, districts of defense
often recall of why did not respect their wks.

Variation or mix

Why this distinction?

Because of non-existence of inherent ideas based
on different experience of different groups.
(Other interests)

5) Final mixture depends on 3 elements:

(1) original "inherent" beliefs of residents -

e.g. just wage / just price for small businesses etc. & wage earners
complaints (market values) demanded merchants & producers
(supply & demand)

(2) Nature of transmigré "devised" ideas

which could be either

(a) farmers-labour i.e. demands reforms to Sov. of People.
Protecting class.

(b) peasants-labour or "conservative". e.g. King & Church
for heretics & rebels

(3) Circumstances prevailing.

How else explain 2 groups with same "inherent beliefs" -

e.g. hymnals craftsmen & Parisian workers

could adopt different sets of devised ideas -

as in Paris re-promises in Civil War of 1793; wh.

Name split between followers of Jacobins & Poms

future of Girondin Federation in S.-W. West?

III. A final but an important question:

What happens to revolutionary terminology after victory - remained
in the case of French Rev. 1789-99 for more part of 1795 when first revolution,
over long period of 6 years? (much stronger 1830, 1848, 1871).

a) Does it disappear? from fatigue exhaustion or counter-revolution?

b) Does it go underground - disappears at some formative moment?

c) If it re-emerges, does it change its form?

The short answer is (c): it does re-emerge - in 1830, 1848, 1871 - but into

a different language addressed to a different set of people &
with changes. Has changed much over time that continues I suppose to stop